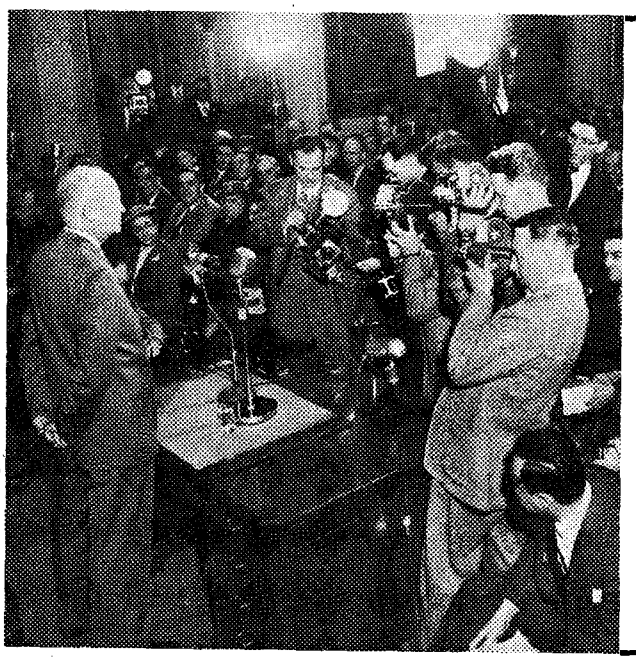
20c • MAY 24, 1954

Segregation—The Court Rules

New Republic



THE PRESS and the PRESIDENT

Newsmen Are Beginning To Ask Tough Questions

Trial by Television—III

The Triumph of Everett Dirksen

An exclusive report

by Michael Straight

Will Private Monopoly Take Over Our Atomic Program?

by Tom Fitzsimmons

MAY 20 1954
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T. R. B.

☆

Washington Wire

Here's our best information on how official Washington now sees Moscow: The Soviet Union doesn't want war—has somewhat the same nervous anxiety over possible warlike Peking action which our Allies have toward us. Tensions continue in top Soviet hierarchy; it's almost certain if Malenkov hadn't liquidated Beria, Beria in a few days would have done in Malenkov. . . . For war, Moscow also needs a bigger A-bomb pile and a good, long-range bomber, the prototype of which apparently is now available. This might take five to seven years. The Soviet can now probably duplicate any scientific advance of the US; it's actually training more youngsters in the scientific field than we are, and turning out more Ph.D's. In fact, Moscow may be slightly ahead of us in some limited fields. (This is going on while we try our leading nuclear physicist, Robert Oppenheimer, as a "security risk".) Soviet weakness: still having serious trouble with agriculture; lacks our matchless industrial capacity; also, Moscow's ruthlessness boomerangs, as in the defection of frightened Beria men who have temporarily disarranged Red overseas espionage. As to China—there's some possibility the Moscow-Peking axis isn't too firm, but this is taken care of (for Moscow) by "China First" US Senators who hold our State Department captive and block any change in our relations with Asia.

There's talk that the GOP may be grooming a new, "New Eisenhower," for the fall election. You recall that periodically in the last 17 months the anxious GOP press has hailed isolated White House statements as revealing the electrifying "real Eisenhower." There are hints that this process will soon be repeated. Word is, in fact, that the product is already being packaged. The need is rather urgent: Last week *Time* magazine warned the Administration that "unless something is done, and quickly, the mess in Washington will be the major issue of November, 1954." The Scripps-Howard chain, heretofore part of the monolithic GOP press, under the title "Get Going, Ike," also announced that "Ike has to step in himself and start swinging. It's high time." Up in Canada the impartial *Vancouver Sun* editorialized that "the whole world is waiting for a flat statement by President Eisenhower" that he won't stand for McCarthy's interference. As to Indo-China and whether it means the fall of Southeast Asia, the patient *New York Times* comments: "We have been told yes and we have been told no by those in authority, and sometimes by the same man or men."

We watched Harry Truman here last week and have been mulling over the matter since. The real difference between Harry and Ike, we guess, is that Harry likes the job of being political leader; Ike doesn't. Harry worked at the Presidency 17 hours a day—he got the same kind of exquisite technical satisfaction in getting some obscure bill through Congress as Ike does in sinking a putt. Politics is Harry's life blood; as President he enjoyed every minute of it, calling in uncertain Congressmen, personally reading detailed reports, letting loose at McCarthy, doing the unending, multitudinous, inexorable political chores of the Presidency. With Ike it's different; he hates that part of it. He wants chain-of-command, delegated authority with a chairman-of-the-board approach. He is now reportedly reading the *Federalist Papers*, discovering the vast, unspecified powers which the Presidency has. We can't but feel sympathy for Ike. Washington is different from what it seemed to him when he was a General, taking commands.

Random thoughts on the McCarthy-Army hearings: There can be no doubt any longer that McCarthy is taking a bad licking; it is significant that when the panicky effort of his pal Everett Dirksen (R, Ill.) failed—to poultice the running sore by ending hearings—McCarthy suddenly stopped his hectoring filibuster; his softer manner indicates his graver view of his own risk. The hearings threaten to take a new course, directly involving Ike and indirectly favorable to McCarthy by raising a false issue, the right to subpoena White House advisers Brownell, Lodge and Sherman Adams. Nothing would please McCarthy more than to see the rolling battle take this direction—personally we are persuaded the Executive can't be forced to divulge the facts of its war councils. (Ike would be in vastly better moral position, of course, if he had boldly challenged McCarthy instead of being dragged in reluctantly as may now happen.) Legislative encroachment by McCarthy seems to us one of the basic issues in this battle; the Mundt subcommittee, Democrats included, may smudge the issue by pushing their own skirmish against the Executive power.

The St. Lawrence Seaway will now be built but with this difference; Canadian consumers will get cheap power direct from the government-owned Ontario hydro system; US consumers will buy their electricity at high prices from the same old private utility companies, who will purchase, distribute and exploit the power produced by taxpayers' money. Under Governor Dewey's proposal the US utilities will buy the power at the dam; farm and city cooperatives won't get the preferred treatment given them under a federally-run program.

Notes: Chairman Strauss' determination to dominate the five-man Atomic Energy Commission, with Ike's help, is building up to a big row, coupled with ill-feeling over the security examination of Dr. Oppenheimer, instituted by Strauss; more ill-will on the nuclear front is likely.

Few Americans realize how close to war the US now is; we would put the chance at one in three or even one in two. . . . The extraordinary thing is that although the Administration appears determined to push its own position in Indo-China it is not educating the public to the reasons or the consequences.

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Noteworthy This Week

BEHIND THE HEADLINES

The Court Has Made an Historic Decision

THE SUPREME Court has spoken. It has caused the wrath of Constitutional condemnation to descend upon the system of segregated public schools.

The Court acted unanimously, with Chief Justice Earl Warren as its spokesman. Dealing first with the separation of white and Negro school children in South Carolina, Virginia, Delaware and Kansas, the Court held unequivocally that such segregation, even though the physical facilities and other tangible factors are equal, deprives Negro children of the equal educational opportunities guaranteed them by the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. Forever interred in the Constitutional graveyard, at least insofar as public education is concerned, was the doctrine of "separate but equal." In the Court's words, "Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal."

Fully aware of the momentous social and political significance of its decision, it took nearly two years to decide the crucial constitutional issue and it has postponed until next year the question of how its decision shall be applied and implemented. In the meantime, the nation in general and the South in particular are becoming adjusted to the idea that Negro and white children can be taught together, that the American ideal of equality means little if it is not applied at the earliest age levels.

The political repercussions are bound to be far reaching. Northern Democrats will applaud the decision. Southern Democrats, however, will disavow it as the evil work of Earl Warren, a Republican. The Dixiecrats can only make clear that this was not the change voted for in 1952.

Above the tumult will remain the children themselves. In the words of the Court: "To separate children from others of the same age and qualifications solely because of their race generates a feeling of inferiority as to their status in the community that may affect their hearts and minds in a way unlikely ever to be undone."

Needed: Schools

THE IDEA of sending children to school would seem to be fairly well accepted—relatively non-controversial. But there have to be schools to send them to. There controversy begins. Who pays for them? Right now we need 345,000 new classrooms: $10 billion—just to catch up. The states unaided can only supply about half of that amount. The balance must come from the federal government, or not come at all. In addition, the Supreme Court ruling on segregation creates a federal responsibility to provide enough classrooms in the South, otherwise Negro and white children will have to compete for available facilities, with all that implies of heightened tension.

Last year President Dwight Eisenhower said, "Our school system demands some prompt, effective help." But when the Senate Subcommittee on Education began this month to examine ways and means of providing such help, the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, Oveta Culp Hobby, asked that no federal-aid program be undertaken until a series of state conferences leading up to a White House conference are completed in *1956*. By that time our classrooms will look like cattle-yards.

We need to spend $21 billion on classroom construction during the next six years: for public schools only. The most generous bill now before the Congress on this subject would split among the states $100 million a year, a very small drop in a very large bucket.

What Dulles Wants

DULLES now hopes to present a Southeast Asia Alliance to the Congress next month. It is just possible that it will hold some promise of effectiveness—because the Republican attempt to cope with international issues while ignoring, when not insulting, the Democrats, our allies, and the neutral nations of Asia has failed, and the failure seems to have taught a lesson.

The "20 years of treason" charge has been retracted, Congress told that England is not responsible for US helplessness at Geneva, and the importance of India admitted: she will be asked through London to participate in the alliance. In the meantime, the use of American troops to save Hanoi and the Red River Delta seems barred. Will, then, the whole of northern Indo-China be abandoned in the hope of holding the South, and denying the Communists the use of Saigon as a submarine base?

ASIA CRISIS
NO COMMUNIST GAINS SINCE THIS ADMINISTRATION!
WE WON'T BE NIBBLED TO DEATH!
ISN'T IT WONDERFUL FINALLY TO HAVE A SECRETARY OF STATE WHO
CONTAINMENT POLICY WAS TOO WEAK
MASSIVE RETALIATION
WE HAVE SEIZED THE INITIATIVE
HERBLOCK
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Shall we talk sense now?

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North Carolina: The Squire of Haw River

THE MAY 29 North Carolina primary is almost here and the promised old-style, blood-letting Senatorial contest between incumbent Alton A. Lennon and ex-Gov. W. Kerr Scott is not materializing. Months after affairs of this sort are supposed to find Tar Heels glowering at one another, the arguments of the Senatorial candidates are still buried in the inside pages and a weekly newspaper columnist with an affinity to Senator Lennon was confessing that "if the primary were held today, Scott would in all probability win."

That may explain the monumental disinterest of the voters. Scott has managed to build about himself a legend of invincibility not to be discounted despite the fact that Gov. William B. Umstead, who appointed Lennon, and most of the county Democratic organizations—plus the utilities, the banks and the textile and furniture manufacturers—are against him. After all, they were against him before.

Kerr (Car) Scott is a bluff, burly Alamance County farmer, but a college graduate from a line of college-going people. In 1948 he came out of next to nowhere, Commissioner of Agriculture, to up-end the dominant conservative machine and win the governorship.

In that campaign Scott opposed his rival's proposed $100 million road bond issue, only to promote a $200 million issue when he got into office, and pave thousands of miles of long-neglected rural roads. He was at odds with his Legislature: appointed a respected Negro educator to the State Board of Education (Negro registration in North Carolina, where there has been no poll tax since 1920, is now well in excess of 250,000); pressed the utilities hard for rural electricity and telephones — and neglected, as liberals often do, to build a strong political organization.

THE '54 CAMPAIGN

Alton Lennon is a personable young man of 47 (Scott is 58) who was a relatively obscure Wilmington lawyer and ex-legislator until Governor Umstead tapped him for the Senate. Lennon's record is hardly prepossessing, perhaps for lack of time to achieve one. When appointed he made a bobble which he has publicly regretted: he would like, he said, to serve on Senator McCarthy's committee. Subsequently he explained, in all sincerity, that he only wanted to "reform" the committee. But this did not set well in North Carolina, where McCarthy is as popular as a moccasin out of the Dismal Swamp.

Lennon's appointment by Governor Umstead, who does not enjoy any great popularity and who is in chronic ill health, disappointed the more "logical" prospective appointees within the magic circle of the organization. Nor were they consulted by the Governor. This is one factor making for apathy—and Scott votes.

Another factor is the lack of any burning issues. Both Umstead and Scott have gone along with the national Democratic organization and its nominal leader, for "regularity" in the Democratic ranks is the accepted accouterment of most office-seekers. Adlai Stevenson, who made a roaring attack on the Republicans (still regarded as "the radicals" in the Tar Heel hinterland) at a party rally in Charlotte in March, is such a Tar Heel favorite that when he signed the guest book at the gubernatorial mansion in Raleigh during his visit to the state, he wrote under "residence": "Illinois and North Carolina."

Another puzzler (for the Lennon forces) is Scott's campaign strategy. He is dignified. He is excessively proper in the social contacts which he once seemed to abhor, even speaking a civil word for civic clubs. He is invulnerable to racist propaganda, since publicly he is on record for "separate but equal" school facilities should the Supreme Court decide otherwise. When he was Governor, he compelled the banks of North Carolina to pay the state interest on state deposits to the tune of $10 million. He has urged a similar policy on the US Treasury, and that is the only campaign plank of any novelty.

While it annoys conservatives (and has brought rumblings from Washington, where Senators Russell and George profess anti-Scottism), even here there is not much for the Lennon forces to pin on him. They accuse him of favoritism, especially and perhaps justifiably in the area around his own land holdings, which are in excess of 2,000 acres, in the allocation of rural road money. But this only reminds predominantly rural North Carolinians that the "Squire of Haw River" paved their roads—"got them out of the mud"—which no previous Governor had even attempted to do.

Asheville, N. C. DON SHOEMAKER

New Republic A JOURNAL OF OPINION

VOLUME 130, NUMBER 21, ISSUE 2061

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Published weekly and Copyrighted, 1954 in the USA by New Republic, Inc., publishing office, 301 N St., N.E., Washington 2, D.C. Editorial and business communications should be addressed to 1826 Jefferson Place, N.W., Washington 6, D. C. Entered as second-class matter September 26, 1950 at the post office at Washington, D. C., under the Act of March 3, 1879. Single copy, 20c; Yearly subscription, $7.00; Foreign, $8.00; Armed Forces personnel or students, $5.00.

"They Work Together"

LAST YEAR a special House Committee led by the late Rep. E. E. Cox (D, Ga.) investigated tax-exempt foundations: it began with a somewhat hostile attitude toward foundations and ended by recommending that there be more of them. Now the Committee has come under the Chairmanship of Rep. Carroll Reece (R, Tenn.), a man who disapproves of every major social change since 1932.

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Reece has begun a second investigation, claiming the first was incomplete. He means that it did not explain how all these things he disapproves of could have happened. Reece knows why; he has explained it often: "a diabolical conspiracy" to further "socialism in the United States"—a conspiracy in which the foundations were active. And the first report of the Committee's research director, Norman Dodd, shows clearly that the investigation, at least as far as the Committee staff is concerned, is designed to prove what Reece believes.

". . . During the four years 1933-1936 a change took place which was so drastic as to constitute a revolution . . . without violence and with the full consent of an overwhelming majority of the electorate . . . it could not have occurred peacefully, or with the consent of the majority unless education in the US had prepared in advance to endorse it"—so reads the Dodd report. The "revolution" was not a product of social conditions, but of a "diabolical conspiracy"; and its peaceful nature was not evidence of the flexibility and practicability of our democratic institutions, but evidence that tax-exempt foundations so controlled education in this country that they could manufacture the opinions of an "overwhelming majority of the electorate."

In his report, Dodd "reveals" that the foundations "co-operate closely with one another" and deduces that they must then have a "common interest." For example: "Directing education in the US toward an international viewpoint and discrediting the traditions to which it had been dedicated." Asked by Committee-member Wayne L. Hayes (D, Ohio) to explain just what that meant, Dodd cited the weakening influence of George Washington's warning against "entangling alliances."

The foundations do have a common interest: free inquiry. The Reece Committee could concern itself with weeding out those organizations — like Facts Forum—which abuse their tax-free status by attempting to promote a single, predetermined approach to political issues as they arise. But as long as it chooses to criticize the Carnegie Endowment as a "propaganda machine" because it urges and promotes a "free-inquiry" approach to all problems, its work, at best, will be valueless to foundations and public alike.

British Labour: Has Bevan Gone Too Far?

THE FIRST month since Aneurin Bevan's brusque resignation from the Labour Shadow Cabinet has shown that this time the fight will be a good deal fiercer than last, when Labour's Great Debate consisted in Bevan talking nonsense while the other side kept mum.

In the first place, Bevan's own supporters are divided on the wisdom of his resignation, at this particular time and on the subject of Indo-China, where events have shown that there is no substantial difference between him and Eden, not to speak of Attlee. Harold Wilson, who left the Labour Government with Bevan three years ago and has recently been concentrating on foreign affairs, has accepted Bevan's vacancy on the Shadow Cabinet, to the disgust of some other Bevanites. To show how far the Bevanites have become a party within a party, the left-wing *New Statesman* described Wilson's dilemma as a choice between the unity of the Labour Party and the unity of the Labour Left. And Bevan himself told a May Day audience that he did not want to see another Labour Government unless it was a Socialist Government—*i.e.* agreed with him.

The Bevanite preference for opposition rather than service in a Labour Government they do not dominate was the main target of a remarkable attack by Herbert Morrison, long the leader of the Labour Party right-wing. Writing in *Socialist Commentary*, an intelligent but little-read organ of ethical Socialism, Morrison described Bevan's latest exploit as *"the answer to the Tories' prayer"* and reminded his readers that Bevan's famous remark that the Tories were *"lower than vermin"* might have cost Labour 30 to 50 seats in the 1950 election. His article ended by asking the Bevanite constituency Labour Parties whether they were *"political parties trying to win? Or are they suicide clubs?"*

This personal attack by one Labour Party leader on another was strictly contrary to a recent ruling of the Parliamentary Labour Party, and gave Bevan a good opportunity of turning the other cheek. But it seems likely that the orthodox leadership now feels that there must be a swift fight to a finish. This is certainly the view of many Trade Union leaders, to whom Bevan's behavior offends against the fundamental principle of working-class solidarity. Tom Williamson, secretary of the great General and Municipal Workers Union, described the Bevanites in the May issue of his union journal as *"the awkward squad, who will play the game only if they can make the rules."*

It seems likely, too, that as so often in Labour Party history, the struggle will revolve round personalities and the issue of loyalty to the movement rather than the political questions which Bevan has raised. Certainly this is more favorable ground for the anti-Bevanite leaders, who have compromised their political position by equivocation in the last few years. On German rearmament in particular, double-talk in the past has so confused the movement that Attlee seems powerless to stem the emotional tide against "arming the Nazis." Two large trade unions, admittedly both traditionally left of center, the engineers and the shop workers, have just voted almost unanimously against German rearmament. It is now late in the day for the Labour Party leaders to explain that the real choice is between German rearmament on our side under some international control, and a national German army bent on revenge. The National Executive of the Labour Party has just issued a statement pressing for closer British association with the European Defense Community; some observers fear that if EDC fails in France, the Labour Party will feel free to oppose any alternative method for arming the Germans.

The disintegration of Labour morale under all these stresses was well illustrated a fortnight ago when 63 assorted Labour M.P.s voted against the Party Whip for a motion limiting the Government's freedom to produce a hydrogen bomb. Three of the rebels were themselves Whips, and thus responsible for persuading others to obey party orders. Two have since been dismissed for the offence, which would be unthinkable in normal times.

Footnote. Aneurin Bevan was fined in court last month for two offences which might well serve as his political epitaph —"dangerous driving and failure to stop after an accident."

London DENIS HEALEY, M.P.

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Trial by Television

by Michael Straight

A PATH was opened in the crowd, the cameras turned to the doors, and to the Senate Caucus Room on the morning of May 11 marched Senator Dirksen. His hair was carefully mussed. A herd of scarlet and white elephants trumpeted up and down his shirt front on a black tie. In the breast pocket of his gray suit he carried his motion. "The reason for the motion," Senator Dirksen later explained, "was to ring down the curtain."

The Republican members of the Subcommittee rushed to lay their hands on the curtain ropes. The Democrats were not enthralled. So the Committee divided three to three. The deciding vote was Chairman Mundt's. He favored the resolution, but he had said that he would oppose it if any of the principals in the controversy felt it did violence to justice. So the principals were polled.

The first principal was Senator McCarthy. He professed total ignorance of the proposal. He added that he was happy to cut the hearings short. ("And why not?" whispered one reporter: "Didn't he cut the FBI letter down from 15 pages to two?" "Sure," said the man beside him, "and he also cut the photograph by one-third." "That was for framing," the first reporter replied.)

At last all but Secretary Stevens were accounted for. The hearings lay rocking on his shoulders and he answered that he wanted the hearings to go on.

The Secretary had developed a fever the day before. It rose through that day as Karl Mundt and top Administration officials held his feet to the fire. For three hours they threatened and pleaded. But the Secretary stood firm.

Until that moment, McCarthy and the Republican majority and the White House had stood together. They had sought above all to maintain the unity of the Republican Party. They had feared that if the hearings continued, the White House would inevitably be drawn into the issue on the Army side. They had understood that from then on, the team of Ike and Joe would be disbanded for good. So they had worked to end the hearings before this dread event occurred. And they had almost succeeded. McCarthy had driven the country to exasperation. Dirksen had exploited the exasperation to demand an end to the hearings. The President had called the hearings unworthy, and Dirksen had made his move on the assumption that the White House would bring Stevens into line. Then the plan stumbled, and the hearings continued—out of control. But the man whom Mundt held responsible for what might come had taken his fever home and in the confusion of the moment not even McCarthy demanded the loyalty file of the physician who had prescribed penicillin. "Never," remarked a reporter to Mr. Welch, "did penicillin clear up a more horrible mess."

So John Adams, Counsellor to the Department of the Army, went to the witness chair. He was drawn and pale. "If Stevens needed penicillin when they finished with him," said one man, "Adams will need a blood transfusion!"

Softly and in rich detail Adams told his version of the threats Roy Cohn had made in anger and the actions he had initiated in revenge. Cohn listened in respectful silence, and not one point of order did Senator McCarthy make. Then, suddenly, in the hushed room, a new revelation sprang from the familiar story.

The central assertion of the brief filed by McCarthy was that, acting on their own, Robert Stevens, Struve Hensel and John Adams had prepared and released the Army Report on Schine in order to block the McCarthy investigation of Communist coddling in the Pentagon.

Now, Adams volunteered, the Report was ordered by Sherman Adams, "Deputy President" and the most influential of White House advisers. Moreover, Adams testified, it was ordered in the course of a meeting held on January 21 in the office of Attorney General Herbert Brownell and attended by Brownell, William Rogers, Deputy Attorney General, Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge and Gerald Morgan, a White House administrative assistant. This was the top strategy group that guided Eisenhower through the 1952 convention and campaign. And plainly it met on January 21 to set a new strategy of resistance to Joseph McCarthy.

For months McCarthy had abused his authority as Committee Chairman and for months the Administration had suffered the abuse. Then the breaking point had come when Roy Cohn, learning that Private Schine was to be sent overseas, flew up from the Schine establishment at Boca Raton to issue subpoenas for the members of the Army's Loyalty and Security Board.

For the Army and the Administration this was the intolerable act, the final declaration of war. The Boards, as Adams explained, were like courts of appeal. No judge can be made responsible to Congress for his decisions, and above all, no man can fairly judge a loyalty case under the pressure of persecution by the Senate.

THE Administration had surrendered on General Zwicker because its case was poor. Now on January 21, the case was the Constitution itself, and compelled the Administration to resist. So the resistance was ordered in a meeting that apparently Senator McCarthy knew nothing about. This revelation was to change the course of the hearings. But for the moment it passed without comment as the three Republican Senators volunteered to testify.

First it was the turn of Senator Dirk-

III. The Triumph of Everett Dirksen

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sen. "Do you solemnly swear," inquired Chairman Mundt, and nothing certainly could have been more solemn than the Honorable Everett McKinley Dirksen holding his right hand up in silhouette against the floodlights. So he began:

SENATOR DIRKSEN: Mr. Chairman, let me just say . . . for the benefit . . . of those who may be watching this proceeding that there arrives at my office about 2,500 letters and telegrams a day. Some of them are so intemperate and so abusive and so unrestrained that my office force is afraid they might affect my finer sensibilities and they don't even show them to me. It would occur . . . that I have been charged with being belligerently partial to one side or the other.

Heaven forbid! With the injured and innocent air of a schoolboy falsely accused of stealing jam, Senator Dirksen told his story.

Three times he swore that when Mr. Adams and Gerald Morgan of the White House visited him on January 22 that was the first he knew of any trouble.

The controversy between the Subcommittee staff and the Army had raged then for four months. It had been raised during public hearings and in private meetings. It had preoccupied the Secretary of the Army and shaped the Subcommittee's course if the Army was right. But Senator Dirksen knew nothing of all this and felt no responsibility for the actions carried on in his name. His responsibility, he explained, was to take "judicial notice" when the charges were breaking into the public view. At that point, as he admitted under cross examination by Mr. Welch, he became concerned:

SENATOR DIRKSEN: The thing that stuck in my mind mainly was not pressure but . . . an alleged effort to secure preferred treatment for a private which certainly would not look good on the front page and might enmesh every member of this Subcommittee if it could be established and that we might find ourselves charged with . . . neglect of duty.

So, he testified, he called the Subcommittee together and told its members, Senators McCarthy, Potter and Mundt, that if the charges were true Cohn should be fired to prevent them from becoming a public scandal, and for good measure, John Adams should be fired as well.

Next it was the turn of Chairman Mundt. He too was sworn, so that he might describe the visit of John Adams on January 22. Mundt did not claim that the story of the dispute came to him as a shocking surprise. It was known that he was long aware of the issue, and he conceded this much. He added that he had supported McCarthy's action in issuing the subpoenas and told Adams what he should have done.

SENATOR MUNDT: I do recall . . . saying this: that if I were running the United States Army there would be no problem with me at all after the second time a Committee staff member called me up. I would tell him that from that time "I am running the Army. You run your Committee." And I wouldn't talk with him on the subject one single additional time.

I pointed out further that, speaking for myself as a member of this Committee, Dave Schine was just another John American. . . . They could put him—and I think I used this phrase—on KP duty for the rest of his natural life as far as I was concerned.

What brave advice to give the Army on January 22! Why was it not given when it might have counted, four months before? Senator Mundt explained that he had not been around for the critic-

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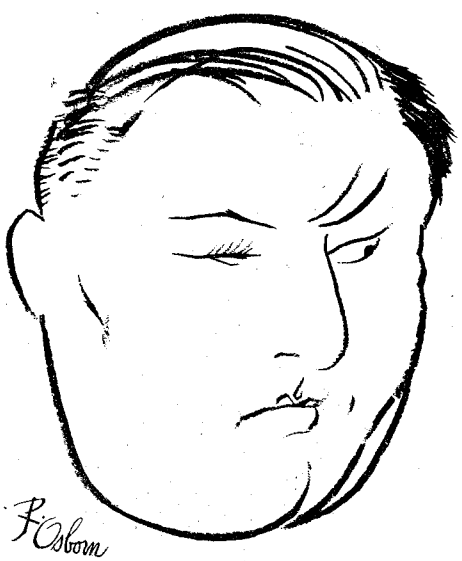
ally important Monmouth investigation because Congress was in recess and everyone but McCarthy had gone home. He did follow the investigation through the newspapers, Mundt added, and once he telephoned Frank Carr to ask for a daily synopsis. "Other than that I had only a newspaper reader's amount of information."

Next it was Senator Potter's turn. The one frank and convincing witness, he testified that he had known of the "considerable effort . . . on the part of Mr. Cohn to secure preferential treatment for Mr. Schine." He conceded by silence that he had done nothing. Like Mundt he had defended McCarthy's action at the moment of crisis because he believed that the power of Congress to issue subpoenas was "quite absolute."

There was, the three men knew, a Presidential directive forbidding executive officials to answer questions on loyalty and security matters. So typically, McCarthy had summoned the Pentagon board members to testify on matters including personal graft and corruption. Potter, Dirksen and Mundt might have inquired what evidence of personal graft and corruption justified the grave and damaging step of issuing subpoenas for these particular officials. They made no such inquiry. They must have remembered that McCarthy in the past had summoned loyalty officials on extraneous issues and then cross-examined them on loyalty files. That they chose to forget. Knowing McCarthy, they must have anticipated that any member of the Board might be asked suddenly: *"Was it the Communist Party that ordered you to reinstate Aaron Hyman Coleman in the secret radar base?"* The refusal of the Board member to answer would have provided the headlines of the following day, as evidence of Communist coddling in the Pentagon.



Chief Investigator Carr

The three Democrats had left the committee on this abuse of the powers conferred by the Senate. The three Republicans remained. Now in May, they testified that they had prejudged a major part of the case in which they were sitting in judgment. They hoped that it would all be forgotten.

Yet the events of January were not so easily buried and forgotten—Senator Symington demanded to know what had taken place in the meeting of January 21. On orders from higher up, Adams refused to say. And McClellan, Symington and Jackson demanded an answer.

From then on, to the glare of the floodlamps was added the lightning flashes of an approaching storm. The examination of Adams took on an urgent air. Above all Chairman Mundt revealed an almost desperate desire to get the charges against Frank Carr stricken entirely before the storm broke. His reason, he explained, was concern for "old fashioned justice." But there were other explanations. The motionless and expressionless Carr was the man who had offered the trade; he was perhaps the most vulnerable witness of all on McCarthy's side. Adams was cowed and bent by Mundt's attack. But he refused to withdraw the charges. So the hearings recessed as Cohn made witty jibes at Adams while the heavy shoulders of Carr and McCarthy shook in silent laughter.

There was no laughter when the hearings reopened on Monday, May 17. Instead the Chairman read a letter from Attorney General Brownell:

> The Department has under consideration at the present time possible violation of the criminal law . . . the two and one-fourth page document is involved.

McCarthy struck back, but the mark of this blow was unmistakable. Next came the letter from President Eisenhower, sanctioning by indirection the publication of the monitored telephone calls, but forbidding further testimony on the meeting of January 21.

McCarthy's hand trembled, and his delivery was halting when he spoke:

> McCarthy: I must admit that I am somewhat at a loss as to know what to do. . . . I fear that maybe in my mind I was doing an injustice possibly to Mr. Adams and Mr. Hensel. . . .

He denounced the "Iron Curtain" that had fallen on the meeting of January 21. He doubted that the President was responsible, saying: "I don't think his judgment is that bad." Then the bitterness, anger and hysteria within him boiled over. "Who," he cried:

> Who was responsible for the issuance of the smear that has held this committee up for weeks and weeks and weeks and has allowed Communists to continue . . . with a razor poised over the jugular vein of the nation?

The answer evidently was Sherman Adams and Herbert Brownell.

PLAYING for time, McCarthy called for an executive session. Behind closed doors where he functions most easily, it was once again Everett McKinley Dirksen's turn.

Three hours later the path was opened once more in the crowd, the cameras turned; the Senators filed in. Reporters noted that Symington was flushed and angry—Jackson wan, McClellan sorrowful—while Potter and Mundt and Dworshak were beaming. McCarthy came, happily squeezing the shoulders of friends, and Dirksen was happiest of all.

Once again he had a motion.

This time Dirksen was dressed in dark blue with a dark tie. He presented a motion for recess; he argued for adjournment. And it was adjournment that was plainly desired and feared. Bitterly Symington denounced the motion as a "flagrant denial of fairness and justice," a "transparent device to let the other side avoid the necessity of testifying under oath." "I predict," he said, "that if these hearings are recessed they may never start again." The Republican Senators smiled and made speeches like those summaries before debates go off the air.

The vote came and four Republicans outvoted three Democrats to ring the curtain down. So Everett Dirksen triumphed on his third attempt. Dirksen was known to be close to the White House. And the choice of the White House was always to deal with McCarthy behind closed doors. The doors were closed now, McCarthy was smiling. The only question really was: did Sherman Adams plan it this way?

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While You Weren't Looking

Will Private Monopoly Take Over Our Atomic Program?

by Tom Fitzsimmons

THE AMERICAN people now control their most vital resource—atomic energy. They control it through the McMahon Atomic Energy Act of 1946, and through a Joint Congressional Committee on Atomic Energy. The Republican Chairman and Vice-Chairman of that Committee—Rep. W. Sterling Cole of New York, and Sen. Bourke B. Hickenlooper of Iowa—propose to change, radically, the 1946 Act and to do so without proper debate, or even a proper Congressional understanding. For their new atomic energy bill they have scheduled nine days of public hearings.

The bill is 75 pages long; it contains nearly 100 separate sections, most of which are vague and complicated. It does not seem credible that its authors really believe that Congressmen warming up for an election fight in a few months, and with the bulk of the Administration's program still awaiting their attention, will have the foggiest notion of what they are voting on if they are asked to pass the bill this session.

On February 17 in his message to Congress, President Eisenhower asked for two general changes in the 1946 Act, to permit: (1) greater international atomic cooperation and exchange of information to increase the defensive strength of the free world, and (2) greater participation by private industry to harness the increased progress free competition could bring to the development of peacetime uses for atomic energy.

The Cole-Hickenlooper Bill is the President's message in legislative form. From the newspapers, one could assume that the new bill covers only the first of Eisenhower's proposed changes. The second goes largely unnoticed. On a typical day of hearings, three out of 18 Committee members are present, plus one elderly lady spectator and high-school class.

The President did not ask, for example, that the government's role in atomic energy be made subordinate to private industry's. Yet last week in the *New Republic*, historian Irving Brant in his open letter to Rep. Chet Holifield (D, Cal.)—the Atomic Energy Committee member who has emerged as the champion of the public interest—called attention to a section of the new bill which would require the government to give industry the uranium deposits it owns *and then buy them back.*

Eisenhower *did* ask that the benefits of free competition be brought to non-weapons development of atomic energy. But he stated specifically that "until industrial participation . . . acquires a broader base, considerations of fairness require . . . that the limited number of companies, which as government contractors now have access to the program, cannot build a *patent monopoly* which would exclude others desiring to enter the field."

The American people have spent *$12 billion*—the total equity of the entire electrical industry amounted to $11.4 billion in 1953—on the atomic energy program. Out of that public investment a new industry is about to be born. If the few firms which participated in that program at little cost to themselves were to patent for their own exclusive use the results of what they learned, the new industry would begin as a pure and simple private monopoly. The President specifically asked that for at least five years, persons or firms obtaining patents in this field be required to license them out for a nominal fee to others able to use them. The Cole-Hickenlooper bill ignores Eisenhower's recommendations on this point and provides for immediate, normal patent rights in an industry that is not normal by any standards.

ACTUALLY compulsory licensing of patents should be required for more than 5 years. Rep. Holifield has said that it takes a minimum of 3 to 4 years to build an atomic-electric power unit, that it will be at least 10 years before we can expect to see units of sufficient diversity in design and techniques of operation to determine the economics of the industry. The next decade will be the crucial period of atomic experimentation —of new discoveries and rapid obsolescence. "To really broaden the base of atomic industry," says Holifield, "the use of all inventions should be made available to all qualified businesses for . . . not less than 10 years."

There are many obscure sections in the Cole-Hickenlooper bill, some of which would make it all but impossible to carry out the President's request for a greater sharing of information—although they are touted as providing exactly that. There are provisions which seem to have no other justification than the ambitions of the Chairman of the Atomic Energy Committee, Cole, and of the Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, Admiral Lewis L. Strauss. Others would facilitate domination of the Atomic Energy Commission by the military, despite 8 years of official commitment to the principal of civilian control. All of these issues will be examined in these pages during the coming weeks.

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THE PRESS *and the* PRESIDENT

by Robert L. Riggs

AFTER LONG months of acting like befuddled bridegrooms, the people who operate our newspapers have begun to return to the normal, natural state of mind in which every journalist should be clothed all the time. That is an attitude of amiable skepticism toward people who hold public office.

I do not say newspapers should be in a constant state of growling, snarling animosity toward public officials. That extreme to which most papers went in their bitter hostility toward Harry S. Truman is as deplorable as the bootlicking sycophancy which they displayed toward Dwight D. Eisenhower during his first year in the White House. What I do mean is that political writers should have the same set of principles 24 hours a day 12 months out of every year. No one assumes that a music critic or a drama critic is entitled to have different sets of values for different groups of professional artists and actors. By the same token, newspapers should apply the same critical standards to Republican politicians that they apply to Democrats.

To the everlasting glory of the American press, its editors are once more beginning to do just that, tardy though they be. There was a lengthy period when it appeared that they had adopted permanently the slogan: "Let's not be beastly to Eisenhower." There was a time when it appeared that, because they had volunteered so enthusiastically in the fall of 1952 to fight the good fight against "creeping socialism" and "The Mess," they felt under obligation to forget that one set of political operators had been replaced in Washington by another set. There was a time when it appeared that too many Washington correspondents were never going to be able to pierce the newsprint curtain set up by their own employers.

They are at last awakening, but most newspapers of the United States have gone through a year of hearing no evil, thinking no evil and seeing no evil.

There were certain aspects to this self-drugging that might seem amusing were it not so serious a matter for the watchdog to desert his post. When Inauguration Day approached in January, 1953, there swept over many an editorial office a strange fear, a fear to which many editors gave voice. Would it be possible, they asked, for the members of the Washington press corps to be fair to the new Republican President?

Can you imagine it? Can you believe that these very people, who for at least a decade had been slugging at Franklin D. Roosevelt and Harry Truman, both above and below the belt, should be concerned about being fair to a President? Here were men who had sought by every device known to their trade to discredit two Presidents. Yet they were worried for fear their own reporters might not be fair to another President. This concern about the willingness or capacity of the Washington press corps to be fair to Eisenhower took strange forms. It almost furnished the excuse for the new Administration to abolish the institution of the Presidential press conference as it had evolved under Roosevelt and Truman.

But for all their determination to protect the new President from reporters, the editors and publishers came up on the right side of the press conference issue. You couldn't ask for a better example of the way the self-interest of newspaper reporters, editors and owners coincides with the public interest. The Presidential press conference has become such a regularized institution in the transmission of information about the people's business that few would want to argue it should be done away with. Yet there was a period when the new Administration almost was persuaded to abolish the open press conference. It was the voice of the pro-Eisenhower editors, speaking in their own self-interest—and in the public interest—which prevented that abolition.

HOW SILLY it was to be afraid to let Eisenhower face the reporters in open conference was soon demonstrated. Neither Roosevelt nor Truman was more adroit than Eisenhower in utilizing the conference for his own purpose. But out of Eisenhower's capacity to be unrevealing, there grew a cry that reporters were abusing the President. Some of our own colleagues even wrote learned pieces asserting that the press was asking questions that were too sharply antagonistic, too argumentative. Many of us were amused to note that the greatest concern was expressed by publications whose reporters had been noted for their hammer-and-tongs belligerency in interrogating both Truman and Roosevelt.

The sad truth is we are not doing nearly so good a job at the Eisenhower press conferences as we did with Truman and Roosevelt. Our questions are beginning to sound like brief lectures—and not too brief at that. They have long apologetic introductory sentences. They convey regret at bringing up unpleasant subjects. They review the situation in detail. Then, finally, they come around to specific requests for information, quite in contrast to the short, blunt, sharp questions we used to ask Harry Truman.

This is due, I feel, to the fact that many a reporter

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who comes to the conference prepared to ask a question feels too often that the President will know little about the particular subject the reporter wants to discuss. Hence he sticks into his question all this background material in the hope that the President will be responsive. And I very much fear that there still hangs over too many of us an apprehension that an editor may feel we have been impolite to a Republican President. Perhaps this apprehension will disappear as more and more editors demonstrate they have quit looking at this Administration through special rose-tinted lenses.

IT MAY seem strange to you, but I firmly believe that the country owes to one man more than to any other this reawakening by the editors to the facts of life. That one man is Joseph R. McCarthy.

An overwhelming majority of newspaper people—reporters, editors and owners—instinctively recoiled from Joe McCarthy when he rose to prominence nearly four years ago. If, to their shame, they compromised with their conscience in the fall of 1952 and persuaded themselves that the end justified the means—that they were entitled to walk along with Joe far enough to get rid of Trumanism—then they were in some eminently respectable company. And there is nothing that a newspaper executive yearns so much to be as to be respectable. Hence, although too many newspaper people held their noses and swallowed Joe McCarthy in 1952, it should be said for most of them that they really did suffer from the delusion that once the Eisenhower Administration got in power, it would lose no time in clipping McCarthy's wings.

Surely, no editor dreamed that an Administration elected by such a landslide would permit one Senator to take control of so many phases of the State Department's work. By the wildest stretch of his imagination, no editor could have conceived of McCarthy challenging the entire Pentagon. It was this failure by President Eisenhower to face up promptly to the McCarthy issue which first awoke a number of editors from their trance. Having taken a good, sharp look at the new man in the White House for the first time, they noticed another thing. They saw that while President Eisenhower was failing to face up to McCarthy, he was, simultaneously, permitting such slick political lieutenants as Herbert Brownell to try to out-McCarthy McCarthy, to try to steal McCarthy's thunder.

It was the numbers game, played by Brownell, joined in by Eisenhower, and participated in by numerous high-ranking Administration officials, which removed the last illusion of most editors. This numbers game, you will recall, was the proud boast that the new Administration had removed from government in little more than a year, either 1,400 or 2,200 or some other number of persons. These discharged employees were variously described, depending upon who was making the speech, as spies, traitors, perverts, Communists or public enemies of one kind or another. It turned out to be, of course, one of the most gigantic hoaxes ever attempted upon an intelligent people. But had it not been for the unceasing vigilance of three eminently respectable and conservative Washington newspapers, it is possible that, with the rest of the nation's press still in a honeymoon daze, Brownell and his co-workers might have got away with it for an extended period.

THERE ARE three fine newspapers in Washington, the *Post*, the *Star* and the *News*, the latter a member of the Scripps-Howard chain. All supported the candidacy of Dwight D. Eisenhower. But they have one other trait in common. Each of them loves every hair on every head of every federal government employee. Washington is strictly a company town. Its entire economic life is bound up with the welfare of the thousands of government employees who live in the Capital. What's bad for the government employee is bad for Washington. What's bad for Washington is bad for the *Star,* the *Post* and the *News.*

The *Star,* the *Post* and the *News* never faltered in their battle with the Eisenhower Administration about this phony numbers game. Through the diligence of their reporters and their editorial writers, assisted by several of the bureaus from other papers, the whole shoddy fraud was exposed. This was more than just another example of what the economic self-interest of the press can produce in the way of public service. It illustrates again that it is not enough, in reply to the charge of a one-party press, to say that the newspapers carry all the news of both sides. Carrying the barebones news about the conflicting claims made by each side in this numbers game would not have been enough. What was required—and what was given—was the unceasing demand of three vigorous newspapers that the Administration either put up or shut up about the hundreds of subversives it had inherited from the Truman Administration. Being unable to put up, the Republicans had to shut up.

It may well have been this silly performance by the Administration over the numbers game which first made the editors of the nation aware of the unashamed hucksterism practiced by our present government. Certainly newspaper people ought to be the first to recognize when politicians begin to substitute slogans for performance.

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There have been plenty of opportunities to recognize such efforts in the past year. There is the "New Look" defense policy, sometimes called more bang for a buck, by which we increase our military strength by reducing our expenditures. There has been the "unleashing of Chiang Kai-shek," the pronouncement by which the Republican Administration instructed the Seventh Fleet to stop restraining the Nationalist Chinese on Formosa from swarming to the mainland to drive out Mao Tse-tung. If Chiang has got any closer to the mainland of China since Eisenhower and Dulles unleashed him while Truman was restraining him, it has not been called to our attention.

Notable among our new samples of hucksterisms is our policy of "instant and massive retaliation" at points of our own choosing. But, at the same time that we are proclaiming that policy, we are apparently preparing to engage in a smaller-scale, or medium-scale or some-other-scale conflict in Indo-China. And since the sloganeers of this government were adroit enough to put the label of "Truman's War" upon the conflict in Korea, it has been reasonable for editors to ask if they intend to call the forthcoming Indo-China conflict "Ike's War." They remember that Candidate Eisenhower himself said in 1952: "Let it be Asians against Asians."

The editors have finally recovered from their schoolgirl infatuation and are able once more to cast intellectually mature and skeptical glances at Washington.

What's Blocking Freer Trade?

Business, labor, farmers favor lower tariffs — on someone else's products

by A. G. Mezerik

HERE WE ARE in the middle of World Trade Week —so proclaimed by President Eisenhower, who promised a "bold new world trade program" to go with it. But where is the program?

Last year at this time, Eisenhower asked for a simple one-year extension of the Reciprocal Trade Act so that a special "study commission" could re-examine the entire "trade picture" and come up with proposals for legislation. A year has passed; the Randall Commission has made its report. The report was incorporated in the President's Message to Congress of March 30 and introduced as a bill in the House of Representatives by Rep. Robert W. Kean (R, N.J.) on April 15. Turned over on that day to the protectionist Chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee, Daniel A. Reed (R, N.Y.), the bill has not been heard of since. The present act expires on June 12—in less than three weeks—yet no hearings have been held, nor have any been scheduled. The strategy of Reed and his protectionist ally on the Committee, Richard M. Simpson (R, Pa.) is obvious: the bill is to be bottled up until the last minute—if possible, even beyond the expiration date of the present law—in the hope that the Administration will become desperate and compromise as it did last year. Already the feeling on Capitol Hill is that the President can hope for nothing but a simple one-year—possibly two—extension of the present obsolete act. And unless he chooses to fight hard, he may get nothing at all. Many who voted for extension last year did so in order to avoid embarrassing the new President and because they were given an out when he compromised for a "year of study." This year many of these lawmakers will vote for protection—agreeing with Kean's warning, and the fact that "this is the time to let the world know what our future trade policy is to be," while disagreeing with him and the President on what that policy should be.

Kean has opened the Administration's effort to get action on its trade program. The coming fight will be closely followed by all nations—friend and foe. In the background will be the "New Soviet Gold Rush"—offers from the Communists of solid cash for solid goods. European businessmen and governments—and, indeed, some Americans—are attracted.

The time is ripe for Soviet trade blandishments. No matter how it is styled—"rolling readjustments," "recession" or "depression"—what is currently happening in the United States has caused a decline in Europe's dollar earnings. This alone would have put Europe in a mood to listen to Soviet trade propositions, however motivated by politics the Europeans know these propositions to be. But to make matters worse and keep them that

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way, US walls against foreign products have been going up even while businessmen, farmers and workers have printed "Welcome" on the national doormat in ever larger and brighter letters. All these folk, in their national organizations have come out boldly for free trade.

However each group makes one exception—that single thing which they themselves make or grow, with which their livelihood is concerned. And when you add up all the single exceptions it totals a national schizophrenia in which people who believe that they are for more liberal trade effectively stymie it.

There is no end to examples. The general farm organizations all want free and untrammelled world trade —but the National Grange is dead set against lower barriers on the importation of foreign wools. The National Grange members are wool growers. The National Farmers Union is vociferously for free trade. James G. Patton, its president, is a most eloquent spokesman for world economic union—far, far beyond just liberalizing foreign trade—yet no group in the entire country yells louder for higher walls against imports than does his same Farmers Union. The howls of protest have to do with Canada's shipping in of barley, rye and oats—reason, the National Farmers Union is the organization of grain farmers.

George Meany, President of the AFL, and Walter Reuther, President of the CIO, both talk for free trade but inside each of their federations a majority of member unions are opposed to specific imports. The United Steel Workers of America, along with their employers in the lead and zinc industries, have testified in favor of higher tariffs on those minerals—whatever the CIO thinks about it. This is also the case in the AFL where the Hatters, Cap and Millinery workers demand higher tariffs in their industry, as a means of barring foreign hat bodies. And there are dozens of other instances.

WHAT is true about farmers and workers is equally true of the organizations of business. Both the United States Chamber of Commerce, and the National Association of Manufacturers have joined the ranks of freer trade. But certain individuals will have none of it. The chemical industry is in open revolt. Monsanto Chemical Co. has pulled out of the NAM. Dupont is outspoken in criticism. Today the chemical trade group is one of 25 industry organizations (and 13 unions) which have joined together to kill off the Reciprocal Trade Agreement Act—the basic trade law of the United States. They have formed a new organization—called "Nationwide Committee of Industry, Agriculture & Labor on Import-Export Policy." Their goal is to retain and strengthen the "Buy American" Act, which is the most restrictive piece of legislation on the books. The "Buy American" Act was the product of Hearst nationalism and the depression of the early 30's.

The roster of the new Committee is a roll call of protectionism. Included are trade organizations representing bicycle, book, cattle, ceramic, dairy, fishing, hat, musical instrument, lace, wallpaper and wool industries as well as independent petroleum and coal producers with whom are allied John L. Lewis and his United Mine Workers. Of course, the opposition to Swiss watches—for so many years a symbol for those who want high tariffs—are also well represented.

As is apparent, the advocates of more protection come mainly out of the extractive and the less mechanized industries. But the opposition to more liberal trade also has permeated the most mechanized industries—as well as the least—and on that front the schizophrenia is something to behold.

THE electrical manufacturing industry uses the most modern technology and has embraced the best cost-cutting methods of mass production. It, like the automobile industry, is ideally set up for international trade and indeed, it exports huge quantities of appliances annually. For years the electrical manufacturing industry has been in the forefront of those who advocate liberal trade rules; Philip Reed of General Electric has been an outstanding spokesman. Only a couple of months ago General Electric sponsored an advertisement in which appeared this declaration:

> The flow of imports into the US, whether or not in competition with goods produced domestically, serves . . . not only to enrich the consumer economy but also to sustain a commensurate volume of exports. At the same time, our imports provide means by which foreign nations can earn dollars to repay the loans and service the investments — which Americans make abroad.

Which would seem to line up General Electric with free trade—now and forever.

Not so. On the day that this advertisement appeared, the Vice-President and General Manager of a GE division formally requested the Army Corps of Engineers to cancel a contract for two generators which had been awarded to a British firm. His grounds were that this bundle from Britain would cause American workers to lose wages and the American government to lose taxes. General Electric had lined up with Westinghouse, the other giant in the field which even earlier had demanded a stop to foreign importation of generators.

This happened in the now famous "Battle of Chief Joseph Dam." The United States Government had asked for bids for the construction of a hydro station on the Columbia River. The British bid was the lowest, much lower than those of the American competitors who—once they heard the news—rushed to Washington yelling bloody murder. Moved off base by vociferous Congressmen and singed competitors, the Administration rejected the British bid and scurried back into the safe, secure and protected womb of "Buy American." This

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despite the fact that the Secretary of Defense had initially—and with appropriate military fanfare—undertaken to guarantee that "competitive bids from sources in the United States and friendly countries be considered on a common basis."

Reaction from Europe was immediate. Said the *Manchester Guardian,* "The next [American] businessman who comes here to tell us that we must be more willing to compete will make a laughing stock of himself. Willing to compete, indeed." And a prominent political figure, Sir Andrew McFadyear, added that the letter of rejection on the Chief Joseph Dam project "could legitimately be interpreted as a message from President Eisenhower that there is a gulf between words and deeds—that the only specific he has for establishing a proper balance between the dollar and sterling is repeated doses of eyewash."

Westinghouse didn't even bother with eyewash. At Pittsburgh, a Westinghouse Electric official (incidentally in violation of Taft-Hartley) called a meeting, on company time, of the 8,000 workers in his Industrial Products Division. He prodded his employees to write their Congressmen to urge them to stop foreign competition.

THERE's the schizophrenia in fullest flower. Electrical goods and appliances are among the biggest in dollar volume of our exports. For the first six months of 1953, these exports amounted to $432.7 million while imports—of all products—were $21.6 million. The electrical industry, confronted with these figures, which are anything but alarming, say that it is not the present but the future that worries them. They see, they say, a trend toward free trade—so they have joined the opposition—though trying meanwhile to sell more abroad.

Farmer, labor and businessman—and what about the politicians? The Administration is for lowering trade barriers and President Eisenhower—the head of the Republican Party—has repeatedly and eloquently said so. The vast majority of Republicans in Congress want none of it. They are protectionist—as always.

Our basic tariff law was passed in 1930 by a Republican Congress. It was the highest tariff wall in history. When the Reciprocal Trade Agreement Act, the keystone of present Administration policy—first came up in 1934, only two Republicans were for it in the House. Ninety-nine Republicans voted against it. In the Senate the vote was 28 to 5. Right up to the war Republicans were solid for high tariffs.

Only after the war, when other countries had little to sell, did the GOP Congressmen support this bill—and then only because it contained the "peril-point" clause, which has—in practice—negated a good part of the rest of the Act. But every Congressional test since the war has shown that the Republicans are once again overwhelmingly protectionist. The last test—on which rode the decision to destroy the non-partisan character of the Tariff Commission—showed 200 Republicans for and only six against.

That Republican Congressmen take this position against freer trade is frustrating but understandable to those of our world neighbors who know something about American history. They will have more difficulty understanding a shift to less liberalism in trade inside the Democratic Party. Yet that is now discernible.

The South has been an historically free trade area. The South's position has been that the tariff forced them to pay immense tribute to the Northern manufacturers of finished goods. The South's great stake had always been in world markets for cotton and tobacco. Everything therefore tended toward the South being the strongest of advocates for free trade. However, the South has, in the past few years, become the new center for the protectionist textile and chemical industries. A change in economic interest is already noticeable in terms of less enthusiasm for free trade.

The danger is that the South will go the way of New England, which at one time was the great free trade area because of its foreign commerce, but which—when it got $500 million of investments in textiles—became and remains protectionist. Even those stalwart intimates of the President, Henry Cabot Lodge and Sherman Adams, had protectionist voting records when they were in the Senate. Congressional attitudes on this question are anything but academic, for what Congress does or does not do is of prime interest as the Presidential recommendations based on the Randall Report begin to be debated.

THE LONG and eagerly awaited report of the Randall Commission was published in late January. The Commission was full dress, appointed by the President on the authority of Congress and it reflected nearly all points of view. Its chairman was Clarence Randall, President of Inland Steel Company and an outstanding advocate of free trade. Among its members were leaders of the protectionist groups in Congress, including Sen. Eugene Millikin (Colorado) and Rep. Daniel A. Reed (New York) and Rep. Richard M. Simpson (Pennsylvania). The general idea of the President was that the Commission would come up with a report on which these protectionists and the proponents of free trade would agree. This plan, though in the best tradition of Eisenhower's desire to seek middle-of-the-road solutions, misfired.

Instead of, by agreement, taking a small step toward liberal trade, the Commission jumped backwards—and still disagreed. The Randall report was, therefore, a disappointment which promises little in legislative results. It was, however, a perfect example of how our national schizophrenia stymies efforts to liberalize trade.

[*A second article by Mr. Mezerik next week reports what some influential American businessmen are doing to make more trade possible and easier and suggest a program by which the US can become the free market England was in the 19th Century.*]

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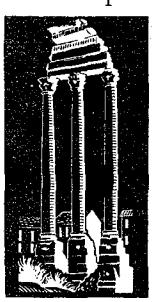
Rome Dispatch THE POPE ADDRESSES GENEVA

The Vatican has been forced by the pressure of events and against its will to make a reappraisal of its judgments of the dangers and evils afflicting or threatening mankind in our time of troubles. The process has been in the most literal sense agonizing for Pope Pius himself. For it has led to a scale of values, or rather anti-values, in which compromise and co-existence with Communism seem to be lesser evils than recourse to, or even the deliberate threat of, what the Pope calls "ABC war"—atomic, biological, chemical.

It is in the light of this change that the Holy See has been following with intense and anxious interest the developments at the Geneva conference. There has been unqualified sympathy with the stated goal of US policy. It is natural and inevitable that there should be full understanding of the desire of the Eisenhower Administration to act promptly, boldly and firmly to build a collective barrier against the possible conquest of Southeast Asia by Communist China.

After all, the Vatican has been fighting Communism in all its forms, moral and material, longer and harder than the governments of the US or of any other country. The plane of this struggle has been universal and timeless. For from the perspective of the See of Saint Peter, Communism is an absolute evil threatening the freedom and even the survival of millions of human souls; it is an ultimate heresy, the negation of the spirit of man himself, now and in the limitless future. At the same time, however, the Vatican has more and more during the last few years taken an active part in the direct political effort to contain Communism. Support for the unification of Western Europe is one of many examples.



In Asia, of course, there can be no counterpart of "Christian Europe." Nevertheless, the Vatican feels that it has an interest and a stake in Asia older and greater than that of any government of the West. Catholic missionaries helped open Asia to the Western world centuries ago. The Church of Rome has never made any racial distinctions: the present College of Cardinals includes a Chinese and an Indian. And now in an age of growing materialism, nothing seems more important than that the spiritual forces of the East shall be preserved and strengthened through comprehension by similar forces in the West. If religion is to preserve its primacy in human affairs over materialism, the West needs the East as much as the East needs the West for help in applying science and technology to progress in human well-being.

The Vatican can readily understand the worries of the US about the physical loss to the West of Southeast Asia. It asks, however, what profit there can be to mankind in saving a physical piece of Asia at the risk of alienating millions of Asians from the West for generations to come. The problem is of method—the method of the fact or even the language of "ABC" war.

When US statesmen talk of saving or losing Asia, the implication is—in Asia—that the West is still the owner and master. Far Eastern experts at the Vatican assert that such an impression can scarcely be removed by replacing French colonialism in Indo-China with an European-American "protectorate" of the whole continent. There is no doubt that Pandit Nehru's views are more acceptable in the Cortile San Damaso than President Eisenhower's.

The Vatican' attitude toward the use of massive retaliation by atomic weapons against local aggression, as for example in the extension of Communism from the Viet-Minh area of Indo-China into Southeast Asia, was clearly indicated in the Pope's speech to the assembly of military doctors. He said:

> We have expressed the fervent hope that there should be punishment on the international plane of any war that is not imposed by the absolute necessity of defense against the gravest possible injustice directed against the community; that is, of any war undertaken because such an injustice cannot be overcome by other means and because it is therefore necessary to repulse the injustice or otherwise to give free play in international relations to brutal violence and to the lack of conscience. The need of defense against any injustice whatsoever is not sufficient therefore to justify recourse to the violent methods of war. When the damage that can be caused by war is not comparable to the damage caused by the "tolerated injustice," it may be necessary to "endure the injustice." The position we are taking is applicable above all to ABC war—atomic, biologic, chemical.

As interpreted at the Vatican, this means that the *first* use of such weapons by any warring nation cannot be justified on the ground of "legitimate defense" and hence that massive retaliation would *ipso facto* be condemned by the Holy See. The Pope is reported to pray daily that, at the end of his pontificate, he may not be leaving to his successor not only the terrible heresy of a world-straddling Communism but also the even worse horror of a world-destroying ABC war.

In his Easter allocution, the Pope called once more for international agreements to ban ABC war. He asked moreover:

> When will the wise men of the world devote exclusively to peaceful uses the admirable discoveries of the profound powers of matter, providing low-cost energy for mankind's activities? This would make up for shortages and correct the unequal geographic distribution of riches and labor. It would offer new instruments to medicine and agriculture and give the new peoples resources of prosperity and well-being.

The US, under Eisenhower's immediate predecessors in the White House, was the first great nation to recognize that the first and more important problem in Asia is to help the masses of Asians to save themselves from ignorance, poverty, disease. The Vatican is now concerned lest the new formula—military, and under the shadow of threatened ABC war—for saving Asia may lose the Asians to the Communists. Its influence is being exerted through members of the Western European delegations at Geneva in favor of compromise and co-existence while there still is time.

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GERALD W. JOHNSON

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The Superficial Aspect

PIOUS and diligent students of the history of rabble-rousing have assumed from the start that McCarthy's career would end in the usual way—eventually he would step on a banana-skin and spill himself. If Schine is that banana-skin, as late developments pleasantly indicate, it is time to shift attention from the Wisconsin brawler himself to an assessment of the damage he did before the spill and to methods of salvage.

It is the common assumption that the Administration is a very heavy sufferer, but that would seem to depend upon the energy and ingenuity of the salvage corps. If they are highly competent, the affair need not be a disaster; indeed, it might be converted into an asset. All that is necessary is established of the legend of the Great Ambush.

IT IS ALREADY in process of construction. Apologists for Eisenhower are even now suggesting that perhaps this was, after all, the only way to dispose of McCarthy finally and irrecoverably. From that it will be an easy transition to the assertion that Eisenhower planned it that way. Even as Hindenburg beguiled the Russian general, Rennenkampf, into getting himself entangled, bogged and swallowed up in the swamps near Tannenberg, so the crafty strategist in the White House inveigled McCarthy into stepping into the miry mess of the Cohn-Schine-Army affair.

It is a good legend, and if it can be made to stand up, it may bring the Administration through crowned with laurel instead of poison ivy.

Doubt of its effectiveness enters only because the Democrats have an opportunity to create an equal and opposite legend. As against the theory of the Great Ambush they may set up the theory of the Monstrous Crow that put an end to the great crusade of Tweedledum and Tweedledee.

It is common knowledge that the great crusade promised in the campaign of 1952 has never got started, and it is a common belief that the apparition from Wisconsin is what stalled it. Certainly Dulles has not been able to operate effectively with McCarthy on his neck, and for the past six months the Department of Defense has been engaged mainly in defense against McCarthy. Even the Republican National Committee has been able to deal few heavy blows against the Democrats owing to its preoccupation with McCarthy.

If McCarthy is really on the way out, the Democrats' next move is obvious. It is to paint a vivid and mirthful picture of all the plumed knights cowering before the Blood-Sweating Behemoth, never suspecting that he was made of pasteboard until he fell apart when the rather comic Mr. Stevens smote him with a wooden sword. There is about as much truth in this as there is in the legend of the Great Ambush, so the voter can pay his money and take his choice.

THE PROSAIC fact is, of course, that Eisenhower did not trap McCarthy, nor did Stevens cut him down. The fact is that the man ran the usual course followed by a genius at self-advertisement not encumbered by scruples. Huey Long, Father Coughlin, Tom Heflin and a hundred pint-size ranters have gone the same way. Once having started on the appeal to prejudice, they are compelled to make the appeal constantly stronger, which means departing further and further from reality until in the end they become so preposterous that not even the dimwits can believe them. Morons took a great deal from McCarthy, but not even they can believe that the fate of the republic hinged on getting Private Schine excused from scrubbing pots on kitchen police.

IT IS also a prosaic fact that what McCarthy may have done to the Administration is a trifling part of the total damage. All of McCarthy's acts put together do not constitute the total. We still have to endure the Epigoni, the pseudo-McCarthys who will follow him and who will play his ruffianly politics without the palliation of his extraordinary cunning.

Bruce Catton, in his recent book on U. S. Grant, asserts that the outright stealing in the Grant Administration did the country no lasting harm, but that the swinishness introduced into the highest levels of American politics then was still having its effect after 80 years. That introduced by McCarthy may endure as long—a thought more chilling by far than the possibility that he may have deprived the Republican Party of its tenure of power.

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BOOKS & COMMENT

Our Literary Critics — An Appreciation

by Delmore Schwartz

SINCE THE WAR, literary criticism in America has become an active and flourishing industry to so great an extent that it has provoked an antagonism which I think ought to be examined and illustrated.

I remember a famous American poet, and a truly great one, beginning a reading of his poetry by speaking of the present state of criticism, poetry, and the criticism of poetry. Some poets, he said, write for other poets, some poets write for the critics, some critics write poetry because they are critics of poetry, some critics write poetry for other critics, and finally some critics write criticism for other critics. His audience was overjoyed. As they laughed, a flashlight photographer lightened the scene near the platform, directing his camera at the poet, who looked more guilty than startled. One cannot be sure, but he seemed to look as if he had been caught in the act of saying what he did say.

A literary critic expressed the same kind of antagonism when asked about a piece of abstract sculpture in his living room by the electrician who had come to repair the wiring in his apartment. "What does it mean?" the electrician wanted to know. "Do you like girls?" the critic replied. The electrician admitted that he did. "Do you ask what a pretty girl means?" the critic said then. The electrician made his departure. The important point is that he remained dissatisfied.

Then there is the antipathy which Randall Jarrell has expressed with characteristic eloquence in his recent book, *Poetry and the Age*: this is, he says, an age of criticism: "there has never been an age when so much good criticism was written—or so *much* bad." And when you examine the leading literary reviews:

> Each of these contains several poems, and a piece of fiction—sometimes two pieces; the rest is criticism. . . . I am talking as a reader of the criticism of the last few years and am assuming its merits and services, which are great. . . . The magazines which enjoy attacking them are almost ludicrously inferior to them. But, I think, they print far too much criticism and far too much that is more attractive to critics and lovers of criticism than it is to poets and fiction-writers. . . . Some of this criticism is as good as anyone could wish; several of the best critics alive print most of their work in such magazines as these. Some more of this criticism is intelligent and useful—it sounds as if it had been written by a reader of readers, by a human being. But a great deal of this criticism might just as well have been written by a syndicate of encyclopedias for an International Business Machine. It is not only bad or mediocre, it is dull; it is, often, an astonishingly graceless, joyless, humorless, long-winded, niggling, blinkered, methodical, self-important, cliché-ridden, prestige-obsessed, almost autonomous criticism.

Mr. Jarrell's description is precise, or at any rate, my own feelings are so much akin to his that it seems precise to me. But perhaps our own feelings are not important when measured against the state of literacy in America and the endless necessity for the training of an educated class. The state of affairs which Mr. Jarrell describes has come into being through the new union between literary criticism and the teaching of English.

Some of the criticism to which Mr. Jarrell objects is known as the New Criticism and is produced by overworked instructors who must earn academic promotion by publication: in the past, most of them would have published scholarly papers in the scholarly journals; but now, although academic standards of scholarship remain unaltered, the teacher's worth is increased, from the point of view of a university, if he functions as both a critic and a scholar. Consequently there has been a rapprochement between scholarship and criticism instead of the senseless separation which existed for far too long. The teacher has been drawn toward criticism and the critic toward scholarship in a way which cannot but be good for both criticism and scholarship.

But more important by far, the practice of criticism has increased because of a definite social and cultural need. Much of the criticism which distresses Mr. Jarrell is given over almost entirely to an analysis and interpretation of the meanings of the literary object, which is certainly a one-sided and limited kind of criticism at best. But at worst it has helped to create and to keep alive a consciousness of literature at a higher and more serious level than at any time since the Civil War. The proof of this is that if it is an age of criticism, it is also an age of the reprint. For the ascendancy of the New Criticism has been accompanied by an important related phenomenon, the literary revival, which has restored the living as well as the dead. There have been valuable books and collections of essays about Faulkner, Fitzgerald, Hemingway, Eliot, Joyce, and Yeats, among others, a fact which must be connected with the state of affairs twenty years back when it was extremely difficult for a critic to get a book of criticism published at all.

The literary revival has resurrected James, and given the novels of Faulkner and Fitzgerald the attention of which they were deprived by the concerns of criticism during the depression; and classic American literature has established itself clearly and fully. We have only to think of Melville, Emily Dickinson, and Mark Twain to see there has been a real advance: the gulf between the present and the past which existed in virtually every other period has been greatly diminished, and this has come about chiefly because so many critics are teachers. Faulkner is perhaps the best example of how genuine the progress has been: in any other literary period, he might have suffered the fate of Melville after the writing of *Moby Dick*.

Nevertheless Mr. Jarrell's judgment is just in itself. It would certainly be very nice if all the critics in question wrote well, in a lucid style, free of cant, jargon, and preciosity; if their analysis of the meaning of poetry were balanced by a sense of the being of poetry, and a historical sense of literature; if they were more often able to recognize that a method which developed out of the analysis of lyric poetry cannot be directly translated to the criticism of fiction and

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the drama; and if more of them shared the social and moral values of Van Wyck Brooks and Edmund Wilson, instead of those of T. S. Eliot. It is easier to criticize the New Criticism than to shoot fish in a barrel; and it ought to be criticized; at the same time, in criticizing it, one ought to remember a fact which Mr. Jarrell cites elsewhere in his book, in his essay on the obscurity of the poet and the indifference to poetry in America: "One of our universities recently made a survey of the reading habits of the American public; it decided that forty-eight percent of all Americans read, during a year, no book at all." It is within this context, from the point of view of the sociology of literature, that the recent growth of criticism must be estimated. It is true enough that the most one can say, adopting this point of view, is: *better than nothing.*

It is better than nothing in this sense: if on the one hand it is now often necessary, because of the New Criticism, to insist that *Moby Dick* is about a white whale and whaling, whatever its more elevated and profound meanings may be, on the other hand *Moby Dick* was not mentioned at all during the first seventy years after it was published. In a like way, as the poems of Emily Dickinson were not published during her lifetime, so Edwin Arlington Robinson and Robert Frost suffered for twenty years from the lack of understanding and recognition which Emily Dickinson would have experienced if she had been published. For the time being at least, the New Criticism has diminished the kind of deafness and darkness with which these poets were confronted.

The consolations of a historical perspective can be overestimated. Yet, going back twenty-five years, one has only to read the pronouncements of H. L. Mencken on the art of poetry as a pack of lies, the *avant-garde* as a pack of poseurs and pretenders, the puerility of Thorstein Veblen and John Dewey and the nobility of war to see that the supposed glory of the first post-war period is mostly a nostalgia for exuberance. And if one goes back fifty years to the time of Howells, George Woodberry, Hamilton W. Mabie, Henry Van Dyke, and Barrett Wendell, one comes upon a literary scene which was an appalling gentleman's club inhabited by a host of genteel mediocrities most of whom were devoted to impersonating that familiar ghost who has haunted American literature since the time of Washington Irving, the imaginary Englishman.

Although in the ancient past, Sisyphus was condemned by the gods to roll a rock to the top of a mountain forever, today Sisyphus is a literary critic. Every time he finishes a book review, he has to begin a new one; his task being the task of criticism is endless and without reprieve. But now as the imaginary Englishman returning dressed in the guise of the new conservatism and as the howling Comanches of mass culture whoop it up on the TV screen, Sisyphus cannot help but see the new critic's love of literature in a redeeming light.

Unpragmatic Liberalism

by Sidney Hook

THE TWO greatest figures of American liberalism in the twentieth century have been Oliver Wendell Holmes and John Dewey. For both of them liberalism was not an economic theory but a social philosophy. The central feature of that philosophy is faith in intelligence as it operates in the free market of ideas. They believed that intelligence could at the same time liberate and discipline the creative energies of individuals. They also believed it could devise social procedures to reconcile fruitfully conflicts between goods, between right and public welfare. If freedom be defined in terms of power in action as well as choice, then for both of them only intelligence could make the individual free; and only intelligence could make the community secure for individuals to be free.

Freedom, Loyalty and Dissent, by Henry Steel Commager (Oxford; $2.50).

Neither Holmes nor Dewey was content with preaching the virtues of intelligence. They put it to work in their long careers to solve concrete problems of law, morals and education. Although on occasions they made effective use of the rhetoric of liberalism, it was never merely as a ritualistic incantation. It was always a preface to analysis, a chart of relevant possibilities, a guide, however tentative, to the solution of problems. The heritage they bequeathed to American liberals was not merely a passion for freedom and a distrust of absolutes but *a sense for problems.*

Never were the problems which faced the United States more momentous than they are today. Never were domestic problems so obviously intertwined with problems of foreign policy. In the past the United States could have been defeated but hardly destroyed by its enemies. Unless our scientists, statesmen and military leaders are practicing a hoax upon us, we must concede that in this age of thermonuclear weapons we can not only be defeated but also destroyed. We can help destroy ourselves by panicky fear as well as self-righteous stupidity. We are living in a state of undeclared international civil war with few reliable allies, bound to us not so much by their faith in our leadership as by their need of our power. A viable liberalism today must face the challenge of these problems without compromising our heritage of freedoms. If liberals do not meet these problems, if they give the impression that they are not concerned with them, those who are illiberal and unintelligent will attempt to meet them. The result will be either catastrophe or survival at the cost of what is most precious in American life.

Professor Commager's book consists of a series of essays written over a period of time from 1947 to last fall. They are an eloquent plea for freedom of inquiry, dissent and experiment in all fields of knowledge and in all domains of social life. These freedoms are described as not only desirable in themselves but as necessary for the achievement of a good society. In the course of his exposition, Commager also calls attention to the foolishness of cultural and political vigilantism, the irresponsibilities of McCarthy, the futility of loyalty oaths, the miscarriages of security programs—all of which are properly denounced in scathing language.

With some exceptions to be noted below, there is little here for any liberal to take issue with as a rhetorical preface to the problems to which the fears and hysterics, so rightfully criticized, are misguided responses. But neither in these essays nor in similar ones not in-

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cluded in this volume, is there a discussion of the problems themselves, of the challenge they pose to liberals, or any attempted solutions. This may explain why essays such as these heart-warming affirmations of the liberal faith have had so little effect on the climate of opinion over the years. They cry havoc about the disastrous consequences of stupid and vicious reactions to certain current problems. But they contribute not a word towards an intelligent solution of these problems. Yet until the problems are adequately met there is danger that Professor Commager will have continuous occasions to pour out his eloquence in vain.

One of these problems is the necessity of developing a security program to prevent the infiltration of Communists into various branches of the government service, particularly into the sensitive agencies. There are far graver problems than this which we must meet if we are to survive as a free nation. Nonetheless because we are living in a period when even a few can do great harm not only to the United States but to the cause of human freedom, security is a grave problem, grave not only in itself but because unless it is intelligently met the far graver problems which beset us will not receive the attention they deserve. Unfortunately, one is not sure that Professor Commager even recognizes the problem of security except as a red-herring to bedevil liberals.

The first of these essays was written in 1947 more than a year before the Hiss trials. The last one, penned only a few months ago, shows no indication whatsoever that the revelations of the Hiss case, the Fuchs case, the Marzani case, the Amerasia case, the Rosenberg case, the Coplon case, the White case, the Remington case; that the evidence of the existence of the Ware cell, the Silvermaster cell, the Perlo cell; that the sworn and uncontradicted testimony about the migration of Communist Party members from US agencies to UN agencies; that the sworn and uncontradicted testimony concerning other Communist Party members who worked in sensitive positions of the government; that the disclosures in many public trials of the devious ways the Communist Party organizes its conspiracies; that the accounts given by numerous FBI operatives as well as the life stories of former Communist leaders and Soviet defectors—no indication, I say, that all this has made the slightest difference to Commager's recognition and understanding of the problem.

One does not have to accept *all* the voluminous testimony in the above cases as valid, or to believe that *every* Communist in government was an active spy, to recognize that we are here confronted with a startling and unprecedented phenomenon of organized subversion directed by a foreign power dedicated to destruction of the free world.

It was the revelation of this pattern of infiltration and the palpable evidence that problems of security had not been handled properly which gave McCarthy the opportunity for irresponsible demagogic exploitation. At the same time it pushed the Executive Department into promulgating hasty and bungling loyalty directives in order to retrieve the situation. Demagogues like McCarthy have existed before. It is a safe bet that even if he had not existed someone else would have tried to make partisan political capital out of the situation. The danger is that if Commager's way of treating these problems is to guide us in the future, other McCarthys will appear on the scene. For there is not a line in this book which indicates that even if convincing evidence had existed that Alger Hiss was a member of the Communist Party, Commager would have justified his dismissal from government service before Hiss acted dishonorably. Such dismissal would have constituted, according to his argument, belief in "guilt by association."

Professor Commager regards himself as a pragmatist and is prepared to test the validity of any assertion or proposal by its consequences. But he oversimplifies and vulgarizes "the test of consequences." He is like a man who ignores or denies there is a gas leak because consequences show that hunting for a gas leak with an open flame is dangerous. Meanwhile the smell of gas becomes stronger and stronger. Consequences must be relevant to the *problem*. Unless we state and face the problem we don't know what consequences to observe, or what is relevant to what. The consequences of one proposal are never decisive unless we weigh them against the consequences of other proposals including the proposal to do nothing. A myth may have very good consequences. It is a myth for all that.

If the problem is: Is the statement true or false? we observe one set of consequences. If the problem is: should a myth be told or not? we judge in terms of another set of consequences. We must know that the statement is a myth before we can intelligently discuss the wisdom of telling it. And we cannot judge the wisdom merely by taking note of the consequences of telling it. We must also observe the consequences of *not* telling it.

The first problem relevant to the theme of security is whether the Communist Party is a conspiratorial organization in the service of a foreign power. The second problem is how to prevent infiltration by members of the Communist Party into government and/or sensitive areas without endangering our own freedoms. The only thing clear about Commager's beliefs in this connection is that by the test of consequences McCarthyism (as a generic term) is unmitigatedly bad. And all liberals will agree. But by the same test of consequences, the refusal to face and solve the problem of security is at least as bad because it gives rise to McCarthyism as well as to very real dangers to the position of the United States in the increasingly bitter cold war. Fortunately, Commager does not speak for all liberals, particularly for those who are no whit less opposed to McCarthyism than he but who wish to grapple with the problem more intelligently than McCarthy and more intelligently than the frightened bureaucrats whom he has demoralized to a point where they regard as a security risk almost everyone with a liberal or radical past, or related to such persons. Commager's refusal to recognize the problem of security is ap-

Lewis Mumford's Essay

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parent in his systematic confusion between legitimate attempts to check conspiracy with the repression of heresy. He writes:

> If you are going to dismiss men from office (*sic!*) or from teaching posts for *membership* in subversive organizations, you must eventually draw up a list not only of those that are subversive but of those that are patriotic. If you are going to silence dangerous *ideas*, you must establish what *ideas* are safe. [my italics].

Aside from its non-sequiturs, this passage is typical in its shift from the *act* of membership which is a form of conduct, to the entertainment of ideas. If we dismiss a member of the Communist Party from government office, we are not silencing his ideas. We are removing him because he is unfit for his post, because in virtue of his act of membership and all that this implies, he is a dispensable risk to the defense of free institutions.

After all, is it unreasonable to believe, as Roger Baldwin once put it, that a superior allegiance to a foreign government disqualifies a man from service to his own? And is it unreasonable to believe, in the light of the evidence, that members of the Communist Party owe their primary allegiance to the Soviet Union? Communists are, of course, entitled like every one else to the protection of the Bill of Rights. But since when is the right to work for one's government an integral part of the Bill of Rights? It will not do to say that the whole problem of security can be left to the FBI. For the problem is not one of detection and punishment *after* an act of sabotage, espionage, or disloyalty has been committed but a problem of prevention or avoidance. This is the crucial point. The FBI does not hire or fire. At best it can only file reports. The task lies in the evaluation of the reports, in assessing the risks and dangers of ideologically motivated subversion and espionage. But this is precisely the kind of work the police mind, or for that matter the military mind, is unqualified to do. It requires knowledgeable men and women with at least a pinch of common sense in executive posts and on review boards who are vitally concerned with the values of freedom as well as the needs of security. Offhandedly to consign the whole problem of security to the FBI or to treat it as if it were simply a police matter is to invite even worse abuses than those now deplored.

There are even some occasions when a man's ideas may disqualify him for a particular office and yet it would be completely false to say as Commager does that we are therefore "going to silence dangerous ideas." I am confident that in 1939 if any State Department official had expressed the idea that Hitler's anti-Semitism was justified, Commager like the rest of us would have demanded his dismissal even as we defended his right as a *private* citizen to express his dangerous ideas. Is the peril from the Kremlin today less than that from the Third Reich in the thirties? Would Commager argue that to deny a fervent apostle of enforced euthanasia a post as a director of a home for the aged and infirm is necessarily to deny him his civil rights?

The most astonishing of the essays in this volume is entitled "Guilt by Association?" to which the answer is a flat and unqualified "No!" I say it is the most astonishing because of the complete absence of relevant distinctions. It is like replying to the question "Guilt by Appropriation?" without asking: what *kind* of an appropriation—stealing or walking off with someone's girl? What *kind* of guilt?—criminal guilt or moral guilt? The term "association" is much more ambiguous than "appropriation," and the term "guilt" in this context may mean criminal guilt, moral guilt or unsafe risk.

Except for some aspects of the technical doctrine of conspiracy, there is no such thing as *criminal* guilt by association in Anglo-American law. No man can or should be sent to jail or fined because of his associations. But suppose we are choosing between two candidates for the judiciary or mayoralty, one of whom is a notorious crony of gangsters and racketeers. Does not our commonsense and common practice justify us in believing he is morally unfit to fill a position requiring public trust and confidence? Commager reminds us that Christ invited "the publicans and sinners to sit down with him." True. But this is an argument for inviting them into the Church, not the government.

Suppose now that someone already in office or in the government "associates" with criminals or saboteurs. What action, if any, would the community be justified in taking, even if there were no evidence of *criminal* guilt? No one can answer this question intelligently unless he recognizes the ambiguity of the term "association" and the multiplicity of the kinds of association there are. As Professor Lovejoy has pointed out, association may range all the way from meetings by happenstance to active co-operation. More specifically, one may associate with Communists in virtue of finding oneself with them in a subway or school or block party; one may associate with Communists in order to dispute with them; and one may associate by becoming a member of the Party and subject to its discipline. Once we make the proper distinctions, then in respect to the duties of government posts there certainly is and can be a moral guilt or unfitness or unreliability by association. And a pre-eminent form of such guilt is membership in the Communist Party or any other kind of association whose pattern indicates that an individual is under its discipline. Commager is perfectly justified in protesting the listing of subversive organizations by the Attorney General without inquiry, public hearings and the right of rejoinder. But when the Attorney General moves to hold such inquiries, he seems to be just as vehemently opposed.

Pragmatism is not tender-minded or given to wishful thinking. It recognizes facts, even unpleasant ones. Only someone uninformed about the nature of the Communist Party could write: "After all, if Republicans can associate with a McCarthy and Democrats with a McCarran without ostensible infection, it is difficult to know where to draw the line or establish our moral quarantine." The difference between the Democratic and Republican Parties, on the one hand, and the Communist Party, on the other, is, among other things, that Truman can

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attack McCarran and Eisenhower McCarthy, and that these parties are run by their members not by the Kremlin. We do not even know whether these parties have a "party line." They certainly do not have a Central Control Commission which checks, purges, and expels members for refusal to carry out instructions.

The Communist Party is not just a political party but an organization whose structure, discipline, and controls make it practically impossible for any person to remain in it without actively co-operating in the achievement of its purposes, without being indoctrinated and not merely "infected." To be sure it is difficult to draw an exact line between organizations, membership in which is *prima facie* evidence of moral unfitness, and other organizations. It is also difficult to draw a sharp line between life and death, animal and vegetable. But a pragmatist should be able to tell the difference at least between a stinking corpse and a live politician, even if he is a filibustering demagogue, between a toadstool and an elephant, between the Communist Party and other parties. In one place Mr. Commager does say that "to draw the line between the exercise of freedom and the limitations on freedom is one of the most delicate tasks of statesmanship and philosophy." But at no point and with respect to no problems does he draw that line. All he does is to show that some fools or knaves have drawn the line too close to the heart of freedom! Agreed! But if the line must be drawn, it is up to the liberals to draw it better.

Professor Commager is on much stronger grounds in condemning inferences of moral guilt of unfitness from *past* membership in the Communist Party (or Ku Klux Klan) or from membership in Communist-front organizations. Here particularly the police mind is helpless and hopeless. Sometimes such inferences are justified; most of the time they are not. But according to the logic of Commager's argument they *never* are justified. This saves us the trouble of thinking hard about the criteria which should be used in justly determining, say, whether a person who until recently was an active member or officer in many leading Communist-front organizations, should or should not be retained by the government in a sensitive post in which he is not indispensable. If we wish to keep conspirators out of government service such data are certainly *relevant*. Here, too, if liberals refuse to develop reasonable rules to guide considerations of security, those who are unwilling or unable to think about these matters will draw up the rules. The result will be more tragic cases like that of Oppenheimer whose experiences had actually made him better fit to serve his country by immunizing him to totalitarian infection.

If space permitted one could demonstrate that Commager does not adequately analyze the nature of academic freedom. He slights the problem posed by the existence of teachers who are members of groups which assert the right to dictate in matters of science and who are under explicit instructions to indoctrinate for a party line without exposing themselves. This is a very knotty problem. It certainly cannot be settled by Loyalty oaths, Congressional investigations—or by doing nothing at all. Liberals may disagree about specific procedures to follow. They should all agree that this is a matter for the teaching bodies themselves to determine, not the State. The faculty of the most liberal school in the US, the New School for Social Research, has for many years barred from its faculty "a member of any political party or group which asserts the right to dictate in matters of science or scientific opinion" not on specific political grounds but on grounds of professional ethics. Such a teacher is not free to seek or teach the truth.

This position may be mistaken. Or it may be necessary to qualify it or adapt it. But at least it should have been considered. Even if it turns out that no one can be free to teach unless anyone is free to abuse the right to teach, this position can hardly be interpreted as motivated by a desire to destroy liberals and dissenters. Norman Thomas, Elmer Davis, George Counts, John L. Childs and many others who have been on the firing line of American liberalism can hardly be charged with a desire to stifle controversy. Nor can the problem be dismissed by the fantastic claim, endorsed elsewhere by Commager, that in the last ten years only two Communists have been discovered in American colleges. For on his analysis it would make no difference whether there were two hundred or two thousand. If a scientist is on the payroll of a corporation under explicit instructions "to cook" his experiments according to directions received, if a teacher is a member of the Communist Party or Ku Klux Klan under instructions to indoctrinate, the problem of professional ethics must be solved independently of the number of cases involved. For the number of such cases in the future may be a consequence of the way *this* case is settled.

In conclusion, it is not so much what this book says as what it fails to say which constitutes its weakness. Some of the things it says are very true, and well worth saying as a preface to an analysis of the concrete problems of freedom and security here and now. With respect to these problems, for me the profoundest sentence in the book reads: "The greatest danger that threatens us is neither heterodox thought nor orthodox thought, but the absence of thought."

Notes on the Critics

DELMORE SCHWARTZ is an editor of the *Partisan Review*. His present essay appears in the new collection of *NR* articles, *The Arts at Mid-century*. SIDNEY HOOK is the author of *Heresy, Yes—Conspiracy, No.*

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BY IAGO GALDSTON

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CORRESPONDENCE

► The Unembarrassed Herblock

Thank you for the handsome mention in the May 17 issue, and thanks to Lowell Mellett for the kind words in his piece on the Pulitzer prizes.

But may I make a correction? Mr. Mellett seems to think that I ought to be unhappy about the cartoon selection and refers to me as "the embarrassed recipient" of the latest prize. As a matter of fact, I was neither embarrassed nor unhappy about it, and there has been no reason for anyone to suppose I was.

As one of Lowell Mellett's many fans I'm always interested in reading how he feels about things. I just don't want to see him make a wholly inaccurate guess about how I feel.

HERB BLOCK

Washington, D. C.

► Catholics and Scholarship

"Doctor, cure thyself!" is an expression that might be applied to Marc Karson in his review of my recent book, *The Worker Speaks His Mind on Company and Union* (*New Republic*, April 12, 1954). A few weeks earlier (April 5), Mr. Karson wrote to NR deploring the criticism of Harold Laski by professors Hook, Heckscher and Niebuhr as apparently "generalizing from hasty research" causing their criticism to be "neither good reporting, nor fair. . . ."

I thoroughly agree with Mr. Karson that the scientific and scholarly critic should avoid hasty generalizations and try to be a good reporter, and fair. Does Mr. Karson fail to follow his own prescription in reviewing my book?

Mr. Karson begins his review with an ancient stereotype from which the rest of his review logically flows: "Father Purcell's labor principles, which have become a fixed body of instruction in Catholic Universities and Labor Schools, understandably preclude a Jesuit scholar from arriving at conclusions other than those already postulated as Catholic social doctrine."

If Mr. Karson had only heard some of the annual discussions of various American Jesuit economists, psychologists, anthropologists and sociologists, and noticed the many areas of dispute and healthy disagreement, he would not talk about Catholic "labor principles" as a "fixed body of instruction."

Of course I personally do have a set of "values." So does every other social scientist. So does Mr. Karson. If having a set of attitudes about history, science, philosophy, economics, theology, psychology, etc., preclude me from arriving at scientific truth, they also preclude Mr. Karson and everyone else. But this is a naïve conclusion. The question is not "having a set of values," but whether or not the scientist lets those values prejudice his research.

My professional colleagues apparently do not think that I have let my values destroy the scientific value of my research. The several psychologists, economists and statisticians at Harvard, Chicago and New York University, credited in my preface, while not taking responsibility for my findings, at least thought a Jesuit priest was capable of scientific research. So also thought the Jacob Wertheim Foundation which assisted the research, and the Rockefeller Foundation assisting my new work, and the American Psychological Association and the Industrial Relations Research Association who invited me to present my findings at their annual meetings. So also think the editors of the *Monthly Labor Review* and *Personnel Psychology* who currently open their pages to reports of this research.

THEODORE V. PURCELL, S.J.

Loyola University, Chicago

► Obscenely Violent Comics

May I correct a rather important error of fact in Reuel Denney's bilious review of my book *Seduction of the Innocent*. In the Winters case, in which Justice Frankfurter gave his epoch-making dissenting opinion, the issue was *not* a comic book, but an ordinary adult crime magazine.

It is one of the main points of *Seduction of the Innocent* that no court ever had the issue of the obscenely violent subject matter of comic books before it —that the comic-book industry has seen to that. So the Supreme Court never ruled on it. . . .

If Justice Frankfurter and his colleagues ever could take judicial notice of comic books, I'm sure little boys could no longer buy a ten cent comic book in which a "Dr. Werth" when called to the bedside of a patient cuts out his heart, and a lawyer commits "THE PERFECT CRIME" ("I'm a lawyer! If I can't commit the perfect crime, no one can!").

FREDERIC WERTHAM, M.D.

New York City

. . .

Dr. Wertham is right about the book mentioned in the Winters case. I should add that I'm glad he took the opportunity to remind your readers of the way in which a "Dr. Werth" has been portrayed in a comic book. As for the bilious tone, the bile flow was stimulated by the doctor's mixture. I much appreciate Dr. Wertham's good humor in so responding to a review which, as he recognizes, labored so hard to provide a reasoned context for its disagreement with his conclusions that its form became somewhat flinty. He will recognize the dead-seriousness of my disagreement with him as a token of my caring very much about what he has to say. I yield to no one in my respect for his creative program—learning more about the conditions of the imaginative growth of children.

REUEL DENNEY

Chicago, Illinois

► Against German Rearmament

I could take exception to many of the points made by Mr. King in his April 19 *New Republic* article on the EDC, but will confine myself to the following:

Against the course of continuing to provide for Western German defense with Allied, rather than German, forces, he says:

> . . . It would mean an indefinite commitment to maintain an army in Europe. But that is not the only reason, nor the most important one. For this alternative invites us to sacrifice all our accomplishments in Western Germany, . . . discredit Adenauer, and deliberately undermine German democracy and Germany's alignment with the West.

In effect Mr. King is saying: the German people will only support democracy as long as it is successful; Adenauer and his government are supplying the required success; consequently, we must do nothing to repudiate or embarrass Adenauer, else we shall be undermining democracy in Germany. If it is true (and, in my opinion, it is not)

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that post-war German democracy is such a tender plant that it can be blighted by the disappointment of the Germans at not being allowed to rearm, this would be the best reason I could think of for not giving them arms. In any case, the notion that the Western German people are clamoring for arms, will drive the Chancellor out of office and overturn constitutional government if they do not get them is pure fantasy. There exists a large (and very democratic) party in western Germany which takes the view that rearmament of Western Germany at this juncture is against its interest and indeed that of Western Europe as a whole.

2. I also find it astonishing that Mr. King can think that *all* the Allied accomplishments in Western Germany would be endangered if EDC is not ratified and the Western Germans allowed to rearm. Until 1950, the attainment of American objectives and the establishment of democracy in Western Germany were regarded as being dependent not upon the rearmament but upon the disarmament of Germany.

3. Maintaining the present security arrangements in Western Germany does not entail reversing the policy of progressively returning political authority to the Federal Republic. As I said in my article in the same issue, there is no reason why a *de jure* sovereignty in all except security matters should not now be returned to the Federal Republic.

4. As to the unacceptability to the US of an indefinite commitment to maintain an army in Europe, how does Mr. King interpret Eisenhower's recent assurances to France on this subject?

Oxford, England J. F. GOLAY

► McCarthy's Oath

A newspaper headline said, "McCarthy Swears to Tell the Truth." That *is* news.

HELEN C. BROOKS

Groton, New York

BANDWAGON

Secretary of Defense Charles E. Wilson was asked if he had ordered Secretary of the Army Robert T. Stevens to cooperate with Senator Joseph R. McCarthy to the extent that he did.

Mr. Wilson's answer:

"You never give anyone orders to such a degree; that isn't the way it is done.

"I mean it's like trying to tell someone how to suck eggs. You give him a job and let him go and suck it his way." —*New York Times,* April 5, 1954.

While waiting for the afternoon session to begin, one of Stevens' aides was idly glancing through a copy of the *New Republic.* A superior suggested that he get the magazine out of sight. The aide quickly complied. — *Boston Globe,* May 6, 1954.

Business is better. Industrial production is declining at a diminishing rate. —*New England Letter, First National Bank of Boston,* April 30, 1954.

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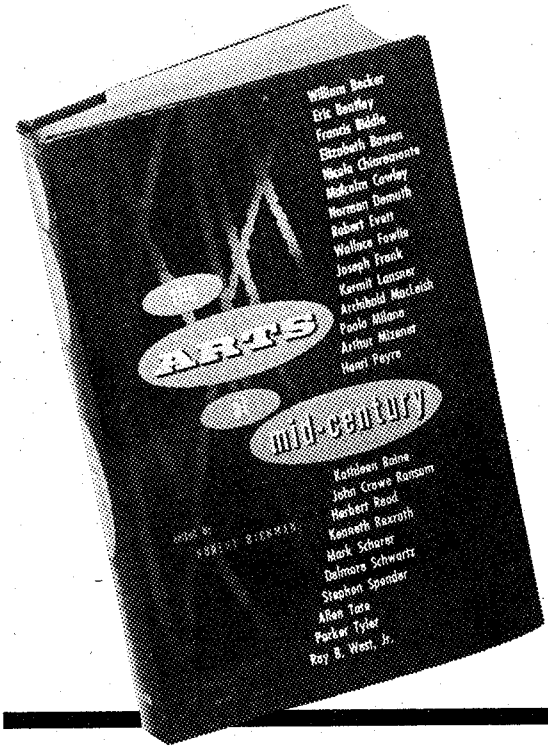

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